1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

595 their father had turned over to him, one after the other, because of his high regard for ču'nekị. Besides this typical example of sororal polygyny, I know of three other unions in which an Indian married two sisters simultaneously.

595 The levirate is said to have been formerly frequent and considered meritorious, but not obligatory. I myself have never encountered it, but I do know of two 587 widowers each of whom married the widow of his brother; each widow already had children. More numerous are instances of bigamy in which the two women are not sisters and belong to different clans; I knew of eight such unions.

595 Sometimes the particular circumstances that prompt bigamy are interesting. Antonio juruti', though married for many years, never had any children, so he took another wife, a niece of the first—but with the same result. When João Arapaço va'ičakị's first wife had a child, at his wife's request he summoned her niece to his house to help her, since the niece was getting on badly with her stepfather, who could not abide her. Some time later, va'ičakị took this nurse of his child as his second wife, with her aunt's full consent. The wife of a certain Jeronymo of the Rio Jacurapá happened to fall ill just when his large crop of manioc should have been made into flour, for which reason he asked for, and received in marriage, his second wife.

There are, however, women who will not consent to their husband's taking a second helpmate. The best sculptress of tucumã figurines, e'kịrane, was married to Anastacio daune'kị, who never begot a child with her. He then proposed to her that he marry a second woman, but she resolutely opposed this, preferring a separation. Anastacio did marry the other woman, who lived only in a state of illness, being passed from one shaman to another, for she also was barren.

In general, two wives live in harmony and help each other unless the difference in their ages is too great. If it is, the situation becomes a bit whimsical. Rufino bo/kị'rakị, some forty years old and married to a woman of the same age, was the father of various children. His eldest daughter was already married and expecting her first child when, at his second daughter's puberty ceremony, he married a girl eighteen years old. The natural consequence of the striking difference in the ages of the two wives was that the second, instead of considering herself the companion of the first, associated with the young girl, her stepdaughter.

152 *Jealousy.*—According to Tessmann, in case of adultery the husband fights his rival. But I know of no fights between persons of the same sex because of jealousy. 578 On the other hand, among spouses jealousy causes violent scenes (see p. 51), which 593 may lead to separation.

A husband who realizes that his wife has just reasons for jealousy forces himself to bear calmly vituperation and even a shower of blows, "if he is a serious man," according to the expression of one of my informants, who very calmly confessed that in fifteen years of married life he had been thrashed some twenty times by his jealous wife. The wife receives the same treatment, but such scenes, unless unduly repeated, cause little scandal.

586 *Divorce.*—I never heard of a husband's having murdered his wife, but what may happen, if there is dissension, is that either will obtain a divorce. The wife's relatives will not permit gross maltreatment of her by the husband; hence, if he maltreats her and conciliatory intervention proves fruitless, they force her to re-

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

turn to the paternal house. The clearing that her husband made, and which she planted and took care of, is hers, since "a man has arms to make another." In general, a divorced woman's children remain with her, but the former husband may demand them for himself; if so, he cannot be denied them. Also, if the wife's family is in economic difficulties, she may oblige the divorced husband to care for and support the children. Often, women divorced in this way do not marry again but carry on relations with whom they please, that is, away from the parental roof.

Several times I heard older Indians complain of the increasing fickleness with which certain youths contract, and shortly thereafter dissolve, marriages. I observed two marriages in which the young husband abandoned his wife after a week, leaving her for no apparent reason, never to return. It appears to me that fickleness in marriage is not only increasing among the youths but is also prevalent, on a smaller scale, among the girls. It is related to the increasing proletarianization of a certain section of the tribe through the influence of industrial establishments in the region. Many of these establishments provide food and prostitutes for the young men whom they employ, making marriage unnecessary for them.

Adultery.—In adultery, the woman is the only one considered responsible. Perhaps the informant cited above on defloration would say of this also: "If she will not—who may take her?" A single commission of adultery on the part of either spouse, even though established beyond a doubt, is not held to be sufficient cause for divorce, the problem being solved merely by a blow; only if the act is repeated, does this solution fail. Adultery appears extremely rare in economically well-balanced families. Throughout my entire stay among the Tukuna not one divorce took place in families with a stable economy, nor was there in such families any scandal involving adultery.

Tendency to matrilocal residence.—If the Tukuna are right in saying that in the old days malocas were inhabited by families of only one clan, residence must then have been patrilocal. Today there is no fixed rule, but there is a well-established tendency for parents not to let a daughter out of sight and free from their control even after marriage. Compare with this the uncle's counsel to the vərëk: "Never abandon your mother, and look out for her even after marriage" (p. 90); and the prospective mother-in-law's threat to the suitor that she will reclaim her daughter if the latter is not well treated (p. 94).

One family of Igarapé da Rita was visibly disgusted by the marriage of a daughter to an Indian who later went to live with her in the neighborhood of Belém, about twenty-five kilometers away as the crow flies. It appeared that the parents were waiting only for some pretext to dissolve the union, since they were already openly discussing this eventuality. Usually the husband first lives for some time in the house of his in-laws. Some never leave, but most later set up their own establishments not far away. The preferred type of marriage, described earlier in this section, favors this tendency to a certain extent.

Daily life.—I should emphasize the fact that family life among the Tukuna runs with extreme calm and monotony. I have associated for months with certain families without noting the slightest altercation. The transports of rage to which

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

593 I have occasionally referred and the excesses committed during drunkenness, though characteristic of these people, do not seriously alter the general picture.
592 Among the inhabitants of a house, who are always of the same family, the authority of the father or of the grandfather is supreme, being recognized in an argument, without dispute. The mother or grandmother shares in this authority, especially in the treatment of the daughters. The old man is the owner of the house, though others may have contributed to its construction. If he wishes to move to another locality, all accompany him, even if they are dead set against it.
592 The inhabitants of neighboring houses are generally in some way related, per-
602 haps representing today the ancient communal dwelling. They share their necessities and likewise distribute any surplus among themselves, always in the most intimate sociability. The diagram (fig. 12) shows the composition of one of these

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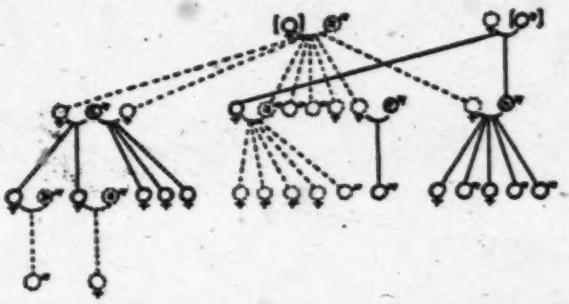

Fig. 12. Clan relationships. Dotted circle, Clan čiva' = seringarana = a'i = onça. Solid line circle, Clan ău/ŋa' = *matum fava*.

local groupings of related families, comprising three houses with thirty-two inhabitants. Note that A marries the sister of B, and B marries the sister of A. C marries successively two sisters of A; his two sons-in-law live with him; and F, another brother-in-law, lives with A. The group is therefore composed of sons, sons-in-law, grandsons, and great-grandsons of X, deceased.

736 *Widows and orphans.*—In these groups, widows and orphans always find the necessary shelter. A certain widow living with her daughters of thirteen and
589 fifteen years old apparently has her economic life perfectly balanced. The three females plant in the clearing which they themselves are able to clear of undergrowth with a machete; they make farinha; they fish; and they make tucum fiber hammocks for sale. A married son, who lives close by, helps them whenever necessary. Small orphans are adopted by an uncle or aunt, who bring them up with
[587] their own children. Formerly, also, the levirate often relieved the situation of a widow and her children. A widower alone with his small children is in a less favorable economic situation; his place is always in a run-down condition, and the children, during the necessary absences of their father, naturally try to make up to the neighboring relatives. Sooner or later, the widower either remarries or, following the example of his sons, moves in with the family of a relative. This is an outstanding demonstration of the economic importance of the Tukuna woman.

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain matrilocal tendency.

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have occurred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable.

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The father's authority in the family is great.

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes is extremely severe with the thief.

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunkenness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives always feel resentful and hostile toward him.

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made.

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire nation.

Death.—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house. They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary burial to the *Tucuna*.

WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the *Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to avenge personal insults.

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

it his duty, as a member of the Academy, to bear public witness to the existence of this supposed race of chivalric women.

A Ticuna Indian and his better-half started from home in a canoe in order to visit a plantation they possessed on the left bank of the Atacoari, for the purpose of procuring a supply of roots. Just as they reached the bank, a tiger, hidden among the vegetation, suddenly, and at a single bound, seized the man, who was in the forepart of

A DESCENDANT OF THE AMAZONS.

the canoe. Whether the brute had made an inaccurate aim or the mud interfered with her leap, it happened, however, that instead of gripping the shoulders of the savage, as her intention undoubtedly was, she simply struck him on the head with her right paw, and with her claws literally scalped the poor fellow, who rolled over, an insensible bleeding mass, to the bottom of the canoe, whilst the tiger, with her head above water, and with open mouth and blood-shot eyes, endeavoured to board the canoe. The tiger might have effected her purpose had not the woman seized her husband's lance, and plunged it with all the force of her two hands into the brute's throat, and thus spitted her like a chicken: the animal fell back into the water, struggled a little, and ultimately succumbed to impalement and asphyxia.

Having rid herself of her enemy, instead of falling on her knees and addressing her god Tupana, with "Thanks, O my God!" she reseated herself in the hind part of

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

the canoe and rowed vigorously home, and soon laid her insensible husband in a hammock.

This heroic act had occurred some two hours only before we arrived at the Ticuna's dwelling, whither we had gone impelled by hunger. The virago, although occupied in providing us with bananas and other food, described the affair to our men without either gesture or emotion, indeed, just as if the matter under consideration was an occurrence of the most ordinary kind. Whilst I was making a crayon sketch of the Amazon, my host, whose acquaintance with surgery equalled that of the best surgeons, soaked his cotton handkerchief in rum, sprinkled it with salt, and wrapped it round the head of the Ticuna, who was lying in his hammock burning with fever. I have no knowledge of what followed.

On the same day I purchased of a hideous, old, black, bent, wrinkled, and withered Ticuna woman, who was almost naked, a little tapir that she had reared, and who whistled more shrilly than a post-boy. The price I paid was a necklace of yellow glass beads which the old woman put round her neck with a hideous grimace of coquetry. My pachydermatous acquisition, about the size of a pig six months old, had not yet acquired its permanent coat; instead of the soot-coloured hair which characterizes the adult tapirs, the coat of this one was striped longitudinally with black, gray, and yellow; from the regularity of these stripes and the brilliancy of their colours it appeared as if the animal was clothed with a garment of striped calico.

After a few hours we became inseparable; it was a good-natured little animal, soft, humble, and caressing, and always ready to testify its gratitude to anyone who would tickle its belly. Its only fault was that it persisted in slobbering over my boots and loosening the strings; but this, if it could be called a fault, was compensated by so many good qualities that I willingly tolerated it. This gentle travelling companion was snatched from my arms by one of the inflexible Parcæ, after a month's acquaintance; when he died within sight of the lake Ega I was occupied with the toilet preparations necessary for my approaching visit to the authorities of the place, and having no time to save the animal's skin for scientific purposes, I threw him with all his decorations into the Amazon, breathing a prayer that the caymans might spare his remains.

On quitting the black waters and splendid forests of the interior the Amazon and its banks appeared to me dull of colour and outline; but Loreto, in particular, struck me as hideous. The chiques and mosquitoes, which I there found more lively and more abundant than ever, still further increased the aversion with which this village had inspired me at first sight.

I have always suspected, with or without reason, that the nine species of mosquitoes that are met with on the Amazon, and which I will name on a future page, have made Loreto, if not the capital of their kingdom, at least the centre of their operations, and the theatre of their greatest exploits. Nowhere, in fact, has the audacity of these winged brigands appeared to me greater, their buzzing more ironical, their bite sharper, their poison more corrosive, or the wound they inflict slower in cicatrizing. The fowls, the ducks, the pigeons, the hoccos, the pauxis, and the agamis, which at Loreto are the messmates of man and form his poultry-yard, would hasten to second my proposition,